DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 216 626 HE 015 078

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TITLE Faculty Development and Achievement: A Faculty's View.
PUB DATE Mar 82
NOTE 29p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New York, NY, March 1982).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Rank (Professional); *Achievement Need; *Adult Development; College Environment; *College Faculty; Comparative Analysis; Developmental Stages; Higher Education; *Interpersonal Relationship; Interprofessional Relationship; Job Satisfaction; Mentors; Occupational Aspiration; Productivity; Professional Recognition; Professors; Scholarship; Student Teacher Relationship; Teacher Attitudes; *Work Attitudes

ABSTRACT

The way that 48 faculty at a major research university view their professional aspirations, achievement, and career conflicts between their professional activities and personal relationships was evaluated. In addition, a conceptual framework of faculty development using three professorial ranks as three qualitatively different stages of professional development is presented. Interviews were conducted with assistant professors, associate professors, and full professors from various departments. The goals of the assistant professors were aimed at succeeding and/or surviving in the profession rather than making a significant contribution to society or helping others. They expressed a need for professional recognition, and 11 of the 15 assistant professors considered the greatest sense of accomplishments were from having a study published or presented at a national convention. Goals of associate professors related more to helping students than scholarship from writing and research. Ten of the 15 associate professors have helped others by serving as a mentor to students and younger faculty. Professors experience the greatest sense of accomplishment from research, publication, and writing (13 professors) and from teaching and working with students (8). Information is also presented on satisfactions in life and environmental "press." It is suggested that career development of faculty seems to follow a consistent pattern that is tied to advancement through the professorial ranks. The concept of life stages, using the three academic ranks as the major professional stages, is discussed. A bibliography is appended. (SW)

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Faculty Development and Achievement:

A Faculty's View

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Paper presented at 1982 annual meeting of American Educational Research Association, New York, NY, March 1982.

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Introduction

Faculty development is not a new topic in higher education. It is variously defined and almost every institution has some program or services that can be considered "faculty development." They range from sabbaticals to instructional service centers (Braskamp, 1980; Berguist and Phillips, 1975). However, the study of faculty development has taken a variety of forms. Perhaps the most common are the demographic-oriented studies which define the types of persons in higher education and the projections for the future. However, investigations based on developmental psychology and life stages are few in number. Related research includes the biographical sketches of ten biologists who participated in the indepth study of adult development by Levinson and his associate (1978) who wrote the book, The Seasons of a Man's Life. Hodgkinson (1974) used his own experience and insights to describe how professionals view themselves at different stages as they work in the world of academe.

The first purpose of this article is to describe how 48 faculty at a major research university view their professional aspirations, achievements, and career conflicts between their professional activities and personal relationships. The second and major purpose is to present a conceptual framework of faculty development using the three professorial ranks as three qualitatively different stages of professional development.

Methodology

Fifteen assistant professors, fifteen associate professors, and eighteen full professors from the colleges of education, agriculture, liberal arts and sciences, engineering, and applied life studies at a large research university participated in the study. They had a diverse set of interests and responsibilities in research, teaching, and service. The faculty were selected by staff of an office of instructional resources. They were selected to be representative of the faculty at large, although they were not randomly selected. Some were selected because of their teaching excellence, some for their national scholarly reputation in their field, and others were selected because of their lack of national prominence.

The data were collected through in-depth interviews. The interviews were standardized open-ended interviews and lasted from 45 minutes to 2 hours (Patton, 1980). All faculty members were privately interviewed in their office by one of three professional staff members in an office of

instructional resources. Each interviewer had considerable experience in interviewing adults. The exact wording and sequence of the questions were determined in advance although slight modifications were made in the questions as the interviews progressed. A pilot test of the interview schedule was conducted to determine appropriateness of content and establish some standardization. There was, however, ample opportunity for faculty to pursue their own interests and interviewers probed when considered appropriate.

Extensive interview notes were taken during the interview but no tape recordings were made. The notes were summarized and analyzed in a three stage process. First, comments were read independently by each interviewer and a classification scheme was developed. Second, one interviewer reread the interview notes and classified the quotes into the categories of the classification scheme, which consisted of ten major categories; e.g., professional achievements: accomplishments, enjoyments; goals and aspirations; initial, current, and future. Third, for each category responses were summarized separately for assistant, associate, and full professors. The results which are presented in the next sections are summarized under the following headings: goals and aspirations; motivations and achieving styles; sources of professional accomplishment, enjoyment, and pride; satisfactions; and environmental press.

RESULTS

ASSISTANT PROFESSORS

The fifteen assistant professors interviewed included two females and thirteen males. Six of the assistant professors have been at the university for less than two years, eight for more than two years, but less than six, and one for fifteen years. The fourteen assistant professors with less than six years of experience are in tenure-line positions with promotion decisions forthcoming.

Goals and Aspirations

The primary goals of the assistant professor focused on "becoming"--"becoming a good teacher and researcher," "establishing a reputation," "gaining the respect of others," "becoming an expert in some area," and "getting promoted." When asked about their initial career goals, ten of the fifteen assistant professors wanted to establish a reputation as a good researcher and to become an associate professor. The goals of the assistant professors were aimed at succeeding and/or surviving in the

profession rather than making a significant contribution to society or helping others. As one assistant professor stated, "First I want to get promoted and be successful at the university game." Only two of the assistant professors were interested initially in making a contribution to their field of knowledge; "making a unique contribution to my area," and "adding to knowledge."

The future goals of assistant professors continue to show their drive for professional success and their need to establish themselves in the academic community. Thirteen of the fifteen assistant professors want to become better at what they are doing primarily to earn promotion and tenure. Several of the assistant professors with four and five years of experience did report becoming more "realistic" in their future career aspirations. One assistant professor observed, "I initially wanted to make tenure and to win awards, now I have dropped the need to win awards." Another explained how he has grown-up and now "chooses stability over glamour." Those who have made more realistic aspirations tend to attribute these changes to experience and their "inability to see the whole picture when younger." But for some, more realistic goals based on experience are not necessarily lesser goals. One fifth year assistant professor noted how he had raised his initial goals because "as you meet others, you learn that there are few learned geniuses; most [good faculty] are plodding, hard workers."

Eleven of fifteen faculty expressed a conflict between their striving for personal and professional achievement. Descriptions of these conflicts included: "I take time from my family believing that I will give it back later, but I never can." "My family gets shafted." "I try to rationalize that I will advance and do fine, but not at the expense of my family." "You just steal time for your professional life."

In general, the aspiring assistant professors are aware of and concerned about the conflict between their personal and professional lives but do not believe they can resolve them until later in their career. The future goals of several reflect planned efforts to resolve the conflict. Seven members of the group aspire to improve the quality of their family life. Family concern center on the healthy development of their children ("raising our kids decently and ethically") and their marriage ("improve the communication and intimacy in my marriage," "keeping my wife's respect").

The assistant professors did not speak of a sense of "mission" or duty to make the world a better place or to help others when they described

their goals and aspirations. Instead, they are driven to succeed professionally and to be recognized for it. When directly asked about their sense of mission, the assistant professors had a difficult time responding. Most did not believe they had a mission in life ("just live day to day," "one temporary goal after another") or couldn't identify one at the time ("a vague sense of duty--as yet undefined"). Those that could desire rather global and amorphous missions ("to contribute," "to touch people's lives," and "to succeed professionally"). One assistant professor wants to "develop one good idea and to avoid hip-hopping around in the discipline."

While the assistant professors are more interested working for themselves than for others, they nonetheless accept and appreciate the help of others. Eight persons continue to benefit from mentoring relationships developed in the past with former professors or advisors. "He continually provides feedback on my competence in the area." "[My advisor] is a skeptical, hard-nose scholar whom I still trust for feedback on journal articles." Five others spoke of the guidance and sponsorship currently provided by older colleagues and/or department chairpersons. "[An older colleague] is in the same area as myself and really knows the ropes. He has helped me through a lot." While these assistant professors spoke of the importance of mentoring relationships, both for the mentee and the mentor, only one viewed himself as being a mentor to a student.

Motivations and Achieving Styles

The assistant professors' drive for professional success in academe was also illustrated in their motivations and styles of achieving. They expressed two primary sources of motivation. The first was a need for professional recognition. Eleven of fifteen assistant professors are motivated to achieve by a need for recognition and acceptance by colleagues. It was not uncommon to hear individuals speak of the need to be recognized at national conventions or within the university as a good researcher and teacher. The second source of motivation, mentioned by nine interviewees, was a sense of personal accomplishment gained from their research and teaching efforts. As one assistant professor explained, "I like to have the feeling that I've done the best job that I can do." Similarly, others are motivated by "personal achievement," "self-worth, feelings that I'm doing something of lasting consequence," and "enjoyment received by doing a job well."

Other sources of motivation mentioned, but less frequently, were competition--"I like to compete at the national level;" the need to help others--"I enjoy seeing my students find good jobs," and "I think that I can inspire students--some even to become majors;" money (mostly by fourth and fifth year faculty); publications; promotion and student achievements.

The achieving styles used by assistant professors to achieve their professional goals were of two major types--direct and relational (Lipman-Blumen, Leavitt, Patterson, Bies, Handley-Isaksen, 1980). All but two of the assistant professors were direct achievers; i.e., they confront the achievement task directly using their own efforts to accomplish goals. They are more interested in achieving by and for themselves than for or through others. Only two of the fifteen assistant professors expressed primary interest in developing students and helping them to achieve; i.e., contributing to or depending on relationships to achieve goals.

Sources of Professional Accomplishment, Enjoyment, and Pride

When assistant professors stated which professional activities provide them with a sense of accomplishment, they most often mentioned personal achievement ("getting published," "conducting a good study," "teaching well") and social recognition ("student feedback," "recognition of work and awards"). Eleven of the fifteen assistant professors consider the greatest sense of accomplishments from having a study published or presented at a national convention. Only four mentioned teaching or advising of students as sources of accomplishments.

When further asked to reveal one professional activity or outcome of which they are particularly proud, approximately half mentioned a research publication ("a theoretical piece," "articles, book chapters, etc.," "book coming out"). Four are particularly proud of their academic achievements such as "getting my Ph.D. at Illinois," "getting my Masters in nine months," "finally getting a doctorate," and "getting this job." Three others are proud of their work on program development and two are proud of their student advising. In general, the accomplishments mentioned by the assistant professors are highly visible activities with tangible outcomes (publications, degrees, curricular changes, and student development). This emphasis on tangible results was best explained by one assistant professor's comments on the importance of publishing. "The hardest part of the profession is that until you have abstract ideas down on paper, there is no personal sense of accomplishment. You got to have an end product [a publication] before you can receive feedback.

In contrast to their accomplishments, the assistant professors mentioned that their primary sources of enjoyment are teaching and interacting with students. Nine assistant professors enjoy such activities as "changing naive students," "advising school clubs," and "getting students interested." Only three cited professional recognition as a source of enjoyment. It appears that the assistant professors receive a greater sense of accomplishment and pride from their research than from their teaching activities, but enjoy to a greater extent working with students.

Satisfactions

The assistant professors are generally satisfied with their professional and personal lives. It was common to hear members of the group proclaim, "I enjoy what I am doing," or "I like being a professor at this university." Reasons for their job satisfaction focus on the degree of freedom and flexibility allowed in the university setting along with the availability of excellent resources (computers, libraries and/or colleagues). Only one person reported major regret about his choice of career. ("I wished I had stayed out of [area of expertise].") A high degree of personal or family life satisfaction was also reported. When asked to name the one activity, either professional or personal, that provides the greatest source of satisfaction, twelve of fifteen assistant professors cited family or friends. Most persons are highly satisfied being with their spouse ("my wife and I have great discussions," "doing things with my wife"), and their children ("my nineteen month old boy is great," "I enjoy my children in a fundamental way") or both ("being with my family," "my family").

Environmental Press

The pressure to be promoted and to be accepted by the academic community is clearly evident in the self-directed goals, motivations and accomplishments of the assistant professors. Since they acknowledged that promotion and tenure decisions rest heavily on the quality and quantity of their research publications, they feel the pressure to publish. However, when asked if they were cynical about "publishing or perishing," the assistant professors are evenly split on their opinion. Half of the group interviewed see the need to publish as a "healthy requirement" of a research institution. As one stated, "A place like this should be doing research." The other half of the group also sees the need for faculty to conduct and publish research, but question the emphasis placed on such endeavors in the promotion process. "Publishing is part of the game. The problem is the obsession people have with it."

Twelve of the assistant professors qualified their feelings of job satisfaction with some anxious comments about being promoted. Reaching the goal of promotion and tenure is perceived by several to be an act of liberation as well as achievement. The comments of two individual best illustrate the group's anxiety: "I would like to get promoted this year so I can relax a little. I don't think I'll be any less productive, but it will be more peaceful to have some of the pressure removed." "Promotion will allow me to work as hard but it will also allow me to narrow my research focus and to say that I made it!"

ASSOCIATE PROFESSORS

The fifteen associate professors interviewed for the study included twelve males and three females. Nine of the associate professors had been at the university for five to nine years, and were promoted to their current rank within the last five years (1975 to 1979). The three associate professors who were promoted between 1971 and 1974 have been at the university for ten to twelve years. Of the remaining three professors, two were promoted in 1970, and have been at the university for fifteen and nineteen years respectively, and one with twenty-five years at the university was promoted in 1968.

Goals and Aspirations

Associate professors, when they first became professors at the university, had rather general goals about their adjustment to the university and to their profession. Seven had goals involving getting accustomed to, and succeeding in their work setting. They wanted to "get their feet on the ground," "find a place in the university community," "do well enough to make tenure and get promoted," "do good work," "integrate work with their life," and "survive--try to learn what was going on." Only three mentioned that they wanted to get promoted. If the goals were specific to any area, the goals related to effective instruction: "to bring some value to the intellectual development of students and raise their moral awareness." Only three initially stated long range goals. Two mentioned that they wanted to be the top people in the field, whereas the third had come to the university with the expectation to build a "kingdom" in his specialty. In general, their initial goals reflected more humility than arrogance, more instrumental short range goals within the university than long range goals involving an international reputation in the profession, and goals related more to helping students than scholarship from writing and research.

The current goals of associate professors vary depending somewhat upon the amount of professional success they have experienced. Six associate professors who have been relatively successful in research plan to continue doing research and want to "stay on top." The freedom of tenure has allowed them to make some changes in their research and scholarly activities such as writing broad issue-oriented papers, being more selective and focused or having a longer range perspective on research. However, two who were recently promoted (1975 and 1978) already expressed some boredom. No one mentioned current plans to become more involved with students compared to when they first came to the university; although one still had an initial goal of getting students excited about a specialty area.

Associate professors' future professional and personal goals are generally extensions of their present goals. Five want to continue to stay active in research and make an important contribution to their discipline. Four others want to become full professors at the university, whereas another wants to be at a similar university. Only one mentioned that he specifically wants to "make a difference in the classroom," and another hopes that his work would be appreciated and influential in the field. Two faculty expanded their sphere of influence. One has a goal to "outgun the old established club" and another wants to have an impact through his research on society in general.

For seven others, personal and professional development and improvement are future goals. One faculty member, who had learned from his department that "he had chosen the 'wrong' course as a professor [being service-oriented], listed two goals: "self improvement and better discipline." As he put it, "I set up nebulous goals and don't accomplish them because they are so nebulous." Another whose self assessment of his career to date was very positive, desires to "restore balance in life by taking more time to read and to exercise. My spouse and I have not cheated our kids while being professors, but we have cheated ourselves." One associate professor wanted to write a utopian novel for fun and another wished to run in a marathon.

For some of the associate professors, accomplishing goals is a means of fulfilling life's ambition or mission. Twelve of the fifteen associate professors spoke of their sense of mission, or as one said, "life's destiny." Eight of the twelve mission statements were strikingly similar. The associate professors "wanted to make a difference in people's lives" so

and one mentioned publications. Only three mentioned involvement with students, such as "working with students" and "developing new courses." However when asked "What professional activities do you find particularly enjoyable," nine associate professors listed teaching and working with students and five mentioned colleagueship. One enjoys the social discourse, talking to fellow faculty over lunch about ideas and issues. When asked about what "accomplishments have given you the greatest sense of pride," scholarly contributions were mentioned by six professors while only three mentioned student involvement.

Ten of the fifteen associate professors have helped others by serving as a mentor to students and younger faculty. As one explained, "I keep an eye on two or three (younger faculty) in our division and also graduate students." Another was particularly pleased that one of "my student mentees is now on the faculty." Only two of the associate professors are disinterested in being a mentor. One described himself as a "loner" while the other disliked "people clinging to me, telling me how wonderful my ideas are." Five of the associate professors have also benefited from having a mentor usually their graduate advisor.

Satisfactions in Life

Associate professors spoke of two major types of satisfaction in life--personal and professional. Family considerations are important to seven faculty. One stated, "I would be more distressed if my family went down the tubes than my job." Another recent associate professor stated that "my home and what happens there is much more telling." The need to balance the demands of home and the profession were frequently mentioned with the home increasing in importance at the expense of professional satisfactions. One, as a member of a two career family, feels his work has suffered and at times "feels guilty about it." One associate professor whose professional achievements were numerous is concerned about the tension and conflict between work and family. He has always remembered the advice he got from an older professor years ago. The elder said "I'm successful now, but I regret that I did not spend enough time with my kids!" This family has some scheduled time together each day. Another associate professor gets the greatest sense of satisfaction from "the feeling of accomplishment in balancing my personal, professional, and family life."

Seven associate professors obtain the greatest satisfaction from their professional life. For three, it is the satisfaction from "feeling like I'm making a contribution and having an impact." One "likes to solve problems in clever ways." Another receives considerable satisfaction from helping others. "I want to make a difference in people's lives. When I leave, people will appreciate what I did for them."

Environmental Press

When asked their opinion about the publish or perish dilemma existing at a research institution, eight of the associate professors expressed some skepticism, concern or doubt about the "push to publish." As one said, "My only concern is that it forces people to write too much and too superficially." This theme was expressed by others: "Far too much is being published and the quality isn't very good" and "The question is how many papers are really necessary." One associate professor suggested that "Everyone should be limited to one publication per year to insure quality." To another, "The university is not sensitive to other aspects of professional activities" and puts too much emphasis on the quantity of publications. Those in support of publishing consider it to be "a reasonable way to share knowledge to a broad audience."

For six of the associate professors, the professional pressure interferes with their personal life. One person tries to balance his personal and professional lives "with a lot of hard work, stress, and strain." Another described the conflict between personal and professional life as an "ongoing, persistent, and bedeviling problem to me." For three the problem is setting priorities and finding enough time to get everything done.

Nine associate professors are not presently experiencing a conflict between their personal and professional lives. Three of these never had experienced such conflict, whereas six resolved their conflicts by devoting more of themselves to their family than to their work. Receiving tenure and shifting one's priorities helped resolve the conflict. As one explained, "getting promoted gave me time to look at my whole life. I was consumed by my work. I've changed from a workaholic to a more balanced person." Another stated, "the trend has been for my professional life to be less important now."

The associate professors who are experiencing a conflict between personal and professional life differ in their career aspirations from

those who regard their personal/family life as more important. The first group, although tenured, is continuing to strive for greater professional rewards and are still playing the "academic game." On the other hand, the second group is satisfied with their current job security and devotes more time to other activities. As a result of failures or disappointments along the way: "I guess I had a misapprehension of my skills," "I've recognized a certain laziness in myself," and "I thought I'd be more successful than I have been."

PROFESSORS

The eighteen professors interviewed in the study included seventeen males and one female. The mean number of years of employment at the university was 15.6 years with a range of 7 to 33 years, Four professors had been employed at the university for 7 to 9 years; 8, 10 to 19 years, and 3, 20 to 23 years. Twelve of the professors had received their last promotion in the decade of the 1970's, and six were promoted to professor in the 1960's.

Goals and Aspirations

When asked to recall their goals and aspirations at the beginning of their academic careers, thirteen professors stated goals that reflected a desire to do a good job, survive, or be a good teacher. As one professor put it, "I just wanted to get through the class. I was scared." Six professors reported an initial goal of wanting to make a contribution by "establishing a respectable research reputation," or "making a contribution to the field through research and study." Two professors recalled having goals to change society: "To seek out all the evils of society," and "to save the world."

The present and future goals of the professors are similar in some respects to their initial goals. Six professors want to continue what they are currently doing such as "answer some of the questions we are analyzing in our research" or "do the things I'm doing now until the day I die." This "continue as is" philosophy is exemplified in the comment "I just want to stay alive with some continued feeling of decency and style." Another theme in this group of professors is the desire to make a significant contribution to the field. One third of the professors want to have an impact: "to write a book that makes a contribution to signify I have arrived," "to make a substantial contribution to the field," and "to write the definitive book in my field." The future goals of four professors illustrates a shift in emphasis, in contrast to those who con-

tinue in their current pattern. These professors are seeking new avenues for success such as "getting more politically involved," "trying to make it on the speaking circuit," "becoming a dean at a major school," and "developing my own consulting firm."

When asked if they felt they had a mission in life, seven of the eighteen professors responded affirmatively. The mission statements of the professors involve two components. The first component is making an impact on the profession. For example, the professors want to "try to change the industry," "improve the practice of education," and "to contribute to the knowledge in my area." As one professor said, "When I die, I hope the fact that I was around made a difference."

The second component of the mission statements of the professors is a desire to help others: "to help students achieve their highest potential," "to contribute to the quality of life of others around me," or "to use my abilities to stimulate, motivate, and guide students." They had a desire to help others at this stage of their career, an interest in establishing and guiding the next generation as one comes to terms with one's own mortality. Four of the professors feel it is their mission to help students, "the next generation of scholars."

Professors with one exception view themselves as mentors. Being a mentor is "a role taken very seriously." One person has made mentoring "an essential core element of my career--I get pleasure of advising people on things."

Motivations and Achieving Styles

Both internal and external sources of motivation were identified by the professors. Ten of the eighteen professors are motivated internally by personal satisfaction and a sense of accomplishment--"the intrinsic pleasure of coming up with a new and exciting idea," "the reward of making a significant and lasting contribution," and "doing a good job." For two professors, internal motivation is linked to the honor of being a professor. They see their work as honorable, "the most honorable of professions." One referred to it as "sacred damn work," describing the importance and high status placed on those who are professors.

Thirteen professors are also "externally" motivated, typically by salary (six professors) and social recognition (seven professors). Professors want to be recognized for their accomplishments; a theme described by one, "I am motivated by a combined sense of achievement, truly doing

something noteworthy, and success, receiving recognition for it." However, one professor somberly commented, "There are no more external rewards, no more praises. All that's left is travel and sports."

Most professors (eleven of eighteen) have combined direct and relational achieving style. They are direct achievers in their research and scholarly work and are proud of the contributions they have made in their field of inquiry. The relational component of their achieving styles involves contributions to the growth and development of students such as "working with students and seeing them become productive scholars" and "talking to students and having an impact on them." Some professors also take pride in their service contributions to the university, such as reorganizing a large course, working on committees, or administrative responsibilities.

Four professors are solely direct achievers. They are motivated to achieve for their own accomplishments, primarily their research and scholarly work. One typical direct achiever derives a sense of accomplishment from "research, writing, publishing, and the resulting recognition and esteem." This professor is most proud of his "international visibility in the field." Another professor said "involvement with the profession-speaking, consulting, giving seminars" provided the greatest sense of accomplishment because "it's an important role with the greatest impact."

Of the eighteen professors, three are solely relational achievers. They were primarily concerned about their students. Teaching-related activities are the greatest sources of motivation for these professors. The typical relational achiever feels accomplishment in teaching, advising, and working with students; enjoyed teaching; and was most proud of his/her teaching awards.

Sources of Professional Accomplishment, Enjoyment, and Pride

Professors experience the greatest sense of accomplishment from research, publications, and writing (thirteen professors) and from teaching and working with students (eight professors). The greatest sense of pride comes from publications (nine professors) and professional recognition such as awards, grants, and invited presentations (twelve professors). One professor is particularly proud that "an influential person quoted a piece I had written in a speech to the United Nations."

Seven of the eighteen professors found teaching and working with students as their most enjoyable professional activities. One explained

how he enjoys "psyching up and getting students interested and motivated in their careers." Writing and research are most enjoyed by seven professors. Two of these professors greatly enjoy "developing ideas" and "solving problems." While one enjoys writing the most, he had to admit that "when a course is going well I really enjoy it." Four professors equally enjoy their teaching and research activities.

Satisfactions

When professors were asked for their sources of personal and professional satisfactions, their responses were numerous and varied. Ten professors find satisfaction in aspects of their professional life: "doing a good job in my work," "teaching," "being part of the academic community," and "collecting and analyzing data." Personal life satisfactions are named by eleven professors. These include family ("my kids--nothing I ever do is as important as them"), social activities and friendships ("general mucking around with my chums"), and recreational activities such as tennis, gardening, backpacking, and skiing.

The variety of life satisfactions among the professors suggests that they are fairly well-rounded at this stage of their life. Of the fifteen professors, seven obtain the greatest satisfaction from their personal life, six listed their professional life as most satisfying, and four include both their personal and professional life. The importance of family was illustrated in a comment made by one professor, "If I felt this place was upsetting my spouse or my family, I would go elsewhere."

Environmental Press

Half of the professors expressed some concern over the "publish or perish" dilemma existing at their research university. They are skeptical about the importance placed on quantity of publications rather than on quality. As one professor said, "People are publishing for the wrong reasons." One person acknowledged that "it is being misused," but was not sure "what the alternatives are." One professor is quite cynical about the dilemma "because we have learned very little and there is only a remote possibility that we will learn anything--we have not begun to figure out the right questions to ask, let alone the answers." The professor who is the most discouraged about this issue said, "A part of me always knew it was a game, but now I know it is. No one is really concerned about what you have to say."

When professors were asked whether or not they experience a conflict between their personal and professional lives, seven professors described

the conflict emotionally. The nine professors who have not experienced a conflict between their personal and professional life have a variety of reasons. For some, their "professional life is much more important." Two professors see the two as "indistinguishable--my hobbies are my work," and "I don't have an 8 to 5 routine--they blend into each other." At the other end of the continuum, one professor said "My professional life is hardly important--I think of it as merely a way of generating income."

The differences among the professors in terms of professional commitment illustrates a variability in career patterns at this stage of development. Most of the professors were at least moderately initially committed to their careers, but since then their career paths have gone in many directions. Some professors have clearly shifted their priorities and goals, while others have made minor modifications or continued in the same patterns.

DISCUSSION

Within the diversity of life styles expressed in the interviews by the faculty, there are emerging patterns and themes that can help describe how faculty view themselves and behave as professionals. Our focus is only on professional development of faculty; i.e., their professional aspirations, goals, accomplishment, and the significance they attribute to their achievements. Faculty view their work as not independent of their family, friends, and leisure activities. They, like the adults studied by Levinson (1978), regard their occupation and their family relations as the two most central components of their life. But the questions in the interviews were predominantly about their professional careers and questions about their family and social life were included to better understand how faculty view themselves as professionals in academe.

We have adapted the ideas of Levinson and his associates (1978) who developed a conceptual framework to describe the development of adult men. They used the concept of life structure, a "series of alternating stable (structure-building) periods and transitional (structure-changing) periods" (p. 49). During the stable period, a person builds a life structure, by making key choices and pursues goals within the structure. Each stable period is unique and lasts about six or seven years. Between each stable period is a transitional period which "terminates the existing life structure and creates a possibility for a new one" (p. 49). One questions

and reappraises the existing structures, explores new possibilities, and prepares to make new commitments to value positions that will form the basis for the next stable period. No two transitional periods are the same and each covers a four to five year span. During transitions, changes are required to separate oneself from the past and to examine future possibilities. They can be periods of crises, upheavals, and intense soul searching. A transitional period "ends when the tasks of questioning and exploring have lost their urgency, when a man makes his crucial commitments and is ready to start on the tasks of building, living within, and enhancing a new life structure" (p. 52).

We have used the concept of life stages, using the three professorial ranks as the major stages of the professional life of a faculty member. Our adaptation is presented in Figure 1. Our adaptation differs from Levinson in three important ways. First, our conceptual framework is not tied to age or history but to rank. Essentially we argue that professional development of a faculty member to be age independent. The range of age differences of the faculty with ranks of assistant and associate professor was not large, but age differences were not as salient as rank. We propose that rank is primarily role bound, although the role is more clearly defined at certain times than others. Differences in three ranks may be due to age, history, experience, and to a lifetime of working at an institution that has changed considerably over the last few decades. This study is not a longitudinal one, and all faculty answered their questions from their current perspective. Faculty have entered higher education at different times, and some of the differences in perceptions can undoubtedly be a function of different cohorts; i.e., older faculty came into higher education in relatively more advantageous economic conditions and more free from institutional pressures than those entering higher education in the last few years. These experiences influence the perceptions faculty have today of their profession and career. However, based on our interviews, the career development of a professor seems to follow a rather consistent pattern which is tied to advancement through the professorial ranks. In our judgment, rank is more than an external symbol of the amount of time one has spent in academe; it has sufficient explanatory power to advance it as the key concept in describing and understanding how faculty state their goals, engage in specific work activities, use feedback on their progress, react to the organizational culture, interpret expectations and opportunities, and balance the

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continual conflict between professional and personal demands.

Second, each of the first two stages includes an entry period, a period of stabilization (structure-building) and a period of advancing within the stage just prior to a transitional period to the next academic rank. Relative to Levinson, our emphasis is on advancing within a period, and the four to five year transitional period discussed by Levinson is compressed into one or two since faculty typically stay in the first two ranks for seven years or less.

Third, we highlight the importance of the environment including both formal expectations and requirements for professional advancement and social and peer expectations of an institution. Each institution has an organizational culture which "its myths, expectations, and ways of interacting consists of a set of symbols, ceremonies and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of that organizations to its employees. These rituals put flesh on what would otherwise be sparse and abstract ideas, bringing them to life in a way that has meaning and impact for a new employee" (Ouchi, 1981, p. 41-42). It establishes the social reality in which those entering the culture must learn and adapt. The saliency and potency of this organizational culture is transmitted and revealed in a number of ways ranging from the formal promotion and tenure procedures to informal interactions among colleagues by which the uninitiated learn how those successful in the organization behave and think. We have used the ideas of social information processing and socialization as developed by Feldman (1976) and Salancik and Pfeffer (1978) as a way to integrate the influences of the institution with the professor's approach to examining and promoting their own professional career. Salancik and Pfeffer state, "The social information processing approach proceeds from the fundamental premise that individuals, as adaptive organisms, adapt attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs to their social context and to the reality of their own past and present behavior and situation. This premise leads inexorably to the conclusion that one can learn most about individual behavior by studying the information and social environment within which behavior occurs and to which it adapts" (1978, p. 226).

Feldman (1978) developed a model of individual socialization into organizations which proposes three stages in the socialization-as-adjustment process, and identified the distinct and different sets of activities that employees engage in at each stage. The first stage of <u>anticipatory</u>

socialization encompasses all the learning that occurs before the recruit enters the organization. The second stage of accommodation is "that period in which the individual sees what the organization is actually like and attempts to become a participating member of it." Activities in the third and final stage of role management focus on the resolution of conflicts between work in one or more work-groups (i.e., work life versus home life).

As individual faculty enter the world of academe at a specific institution, they appear to work through Feldman's first two stages. They perhaps know something of the culture of the institution and possess certain preconceived ideas and goals. As they become a part of the community, they can not stay independent of it, but rather need to adapt to it. In their adaptive behavior, they select or attend to information in the form of norms and expectations, process this information, and attach meaning to it using their own past experiences and accomplishments.

The early stage of professing is very similar for all professors. Faculty express rather narrow, short-term, self-directed goals. They want to succeed as a faculty member and get promoted at the institution. Despite their enjoyment in helping others, they primarily commit themselves to achieving the things that have instrumental or pay-off value at this institution; i.e., scholarly production. Assistant professors are predominantly direct achievers; i.e., they publish, write, demonstrate their competence by performing independently of others (Lipman-Blumen, et al., 1980). They need to earn their reputation. The assistant professors indicate that they have little choice but to expend most of their energies into their professional work; their long-range survival is dependent upon a self centeredness.

The environmental press to do research and publish may help to explain why assistant professors receive a greater sense of accomplishment from their research than from their teaching, but enjoy to a greater extent the latter activities. A profile of the assistant professor as a self directed, even egocentric achiever may therefore be too narrow a view. Instead the aspiring professors may not be unwilling to help others but, due to the environmental press to publish and get promoted, are unable to do so at this stage in their career. Their accomplishments were highly visible activities with tangible outcomes (publications, curricular changes, recognition for excellent teaching).

The assistant professors stated that they were motivated by both a need for professional recognition and by a sense of personal accomplishment. They did not (or could not) separate the need for recognition and acceptance by colleagues from their own internal feeling of doing a good job and sense of excitement about creating. Their standards of excellence were those of their peers, especially those with the authority to alter their careers. Formal evaluation of assistant professors was frequent, not challenged, and heavily used. They were vulnerable to critical reviews. Although initially anxious and emotional about them, they did use their information to examine their behavior. Comparisons with others could not be avoided.

The assistant professor's striving for professional rather than societal or family achievement is also expected behavior according to Levinson's work (1978) on adult development. Individuals entering their chosen career are primarily concerned with completing two tasks, establishing their own niche in society and working toward career advancement. Whereas the first task requires efforts to balance one's personal and professional life, the second task primarily involves personal advancement within the profession. Levinson found that for individuals initially striving to climb the professional ladder, as our assistant professors seemed to be doing, completion of the first task often takes a back seat to the second.

The final period of "advancing in the profession" for assistant professors is not totally self determined. They are evaluated by others and their advancement to the next stage, the associate professor level, is partially in the hands of others. For many, they had already readjusted their goals and aspirations. Several reported that they were becoming more "realistic" in their future career aspirations. Stability and longevity were important. Faced with the possibility that their advancement at this institution may be terminated, they were both anxious and cautious. Their goals were to live a day at a time, have short-term goals, and wait for feedback about their progress thus far.

The associate professors enter into another stage of professional life, similar to Feldman's final stage of role management. They have been successful at meeting the most critical hurdle of their professional life. Given freedom and security never experienced before, they search for a more balanced view of their lives, trying to integrate their personal and professional lives. They also begin to select or form their professional life style (e.g., the hours they work, the rewards they strive for, how

they spend their time, and aspirations). They expand their horizons and include goals related to their personal life as well as continuing their professional goals. They seek greater balance in their lives, often trying to catch up on lost time away from their families in the previous years. Often their children demand more of their attention.

The associate professors also begin to devote some of their energies to helping others as a way to fulfill their need for generativity (Erickson, 1966). They begin to view themselves as role models and act as mentors to the younger faculty. They can look beyond themselves and assess what is best for the profession, which is to help develop the next generation of scholars.

During this period of structure building, the associate professors begin to specialize and concentrate on their unique talents. They remain, however, primarily direct achievers; i.e., they still regard their own scholarly production as the most rewarding. Their energy is spent refining their earlier work for which they have been rewarded. However, their new freedom allows them to re-examine their professional goals and aspirations and to examine the consequences of their previous accomplishments using the norms of both the institution and the discipline. Compared to assistant professors, the associate professors espouse career aspirations and goals that appear less self-centered. They begin to view their role in academe and society more carefully and critically. Some begin to question whether the current institutional emphasis on research productivity is the best demonstration of scholarship.

In the final period of middle professing years, associate professors once again prepare for promotion, complete their planned series of research or scholarship, and demonstrate their competence. Once again the institutional standards become more salient to the faculty member. Feedback from colleagues is reconsidered and takes on new importance. A closer self examination of one's progress is made. Not all associate professors advance professionally in the same way or at the same rate.

For those associate professors who never earn the rank of full professor, they engage in considerable displacement behavior, which takes the form of becoming more involved in family and personal endeavors and teaching and service to the academic community. On the other hand, faculty promoted to full professor experience considerable pride in their professional achievements. Each has earned the right to carry the highest professional title in academe. With the gratification also comes additional

freedom to and freedom from. They are more free from the institutional pressures, but this recognized status in the universities allows them to influence the future of the institution. Full professors also have additional freedom to pursue individual interests. In the initial years of being a full professor, they once again re-examine their work--they assess their current activities and ways they spend their time, they explore new professional challenges such as administration or consulting, and they think about any existing conflicts between professional and personal aspirations. However, they are free only from the promotional requirements at the institution but not from the expectations of the profession. By this time they have internalized an obligation to their profession and have a well-established set of standards regarding excellence of work. Generally standards increase with time; not only are they willing to accept additional responsibilities but also more diverse; e.g., serving on important university committees.

Full professors in their goals and aspirations for the future reflect a group of professionals who have given considerable thought to the type of contribution they wish to make to society. They express a greater need for relatedness for helping others. Mentoring began as associate professors takes on additional importance. While the professors continue to view themselves as internally motivated (e.g., interest in problem solving, and excitement over discovery), the majority emphasized the need to receive recognition for their work. This recognition by peers is, however, more than an index of ego gratification. It is instead a confirmation by the profession that the professor is doing something useful. Playing the academic game well is no longer a viable reason even if that strategy was considered appropriate for promotion. Professors still seek information about their worth, because they have expanded definitions of professional successes. New sources of evaluative information are also sought because they report that they are unable to learn much new from the same sources used throughout their career. Their standards of excellence have been internalized and thus the role of evaluative information shifts from one of self image formation to one of comparison with a more established self image. Many are also asking the larger question of the usefulness of their work even though the quality of it has been demonstrated to be good. For example, half of the professors questioned the current emphasis they saw on the quantity of publications rather than quality.

Although most professors seem to ask these questions about relevance, not all of them choose the same professional path. In contrast to the developmental stages of those in the earlier ranks, professors vary considerably in how they live their professional life. Branching out occurs for some. As they are getting settled as full professors, they write the integrative piece in their field or apply their knowledge in new settings. As they near the end of the professional career, they strive to write the masterpiece to encompass their life's work, to assist others in furthering work begun by them, and to play the role of the elder statesperson.

However, others use this time of their life to pursue new interests; e.g., consulting, public speaking, rekindle old interests (sports), and to spend more time with their family. They were satisfied with the level of performance when promoted and were willing to maintain it rather than enhance it.

A small minority have become disenchanted with academe. Although they have had relative success in the system, they seem to have lost their professional zeal. Their work is less meaningful, and they are not responsive to the demands of the institution. They often express cynicism and boredom. In part, their disenchantment is a result of some earlier failures or disappointments. Those who personally chose to emphasize teaching express a resentment toward the university which "puts too much emphasis on research." These faculty are not, however, dissatisfied; they derive most of their satisfaction from their personal life--family, friends, traveling or sports.

This diversity of life styles extends throughout the career. Once begun the path is difficult to reverse. The professional life of professor is largely accumulative. The variety of accomplishments are not equal if judged by the standards of excellence promulgated by the profession and institution. Nevertheless, the degree of satisfaction about life in general is not necessarily contingent about professional success. Trade-offs and sacrifices are inevitable and the conflicts between opposing interests and activities needs to be balanced regardless of the stage and success of the professor.

The importance of the interaction between the individual professor and the institution is contingent upon the saliency of the organizational culture. At this institution, the organizational culture, as viewed from the faculty perspective, is potent. Expectations about professional growth and success are clear. As one elder distinguished full professor said

"One would have to be stupid to not know the norms and standards of this place." In our interviews, faculty regardless of their tenure at the institution stated they knew the reward structure in terms of financial renumeration, respect, and acclaim from colleagues within the university as well as the discipline. Thus our conceptual framework which has rank as the pivotal concept may be more descriptive at institutions at which professional expectations are clear to the faculty. The stages of the professional career are influenced by the institution in the types of products expected and the types of work one does. If the institution has no clearly identifiable organizational culture, then the interaction between each faculty member and the institution will be less important in defining one's professional life stages.

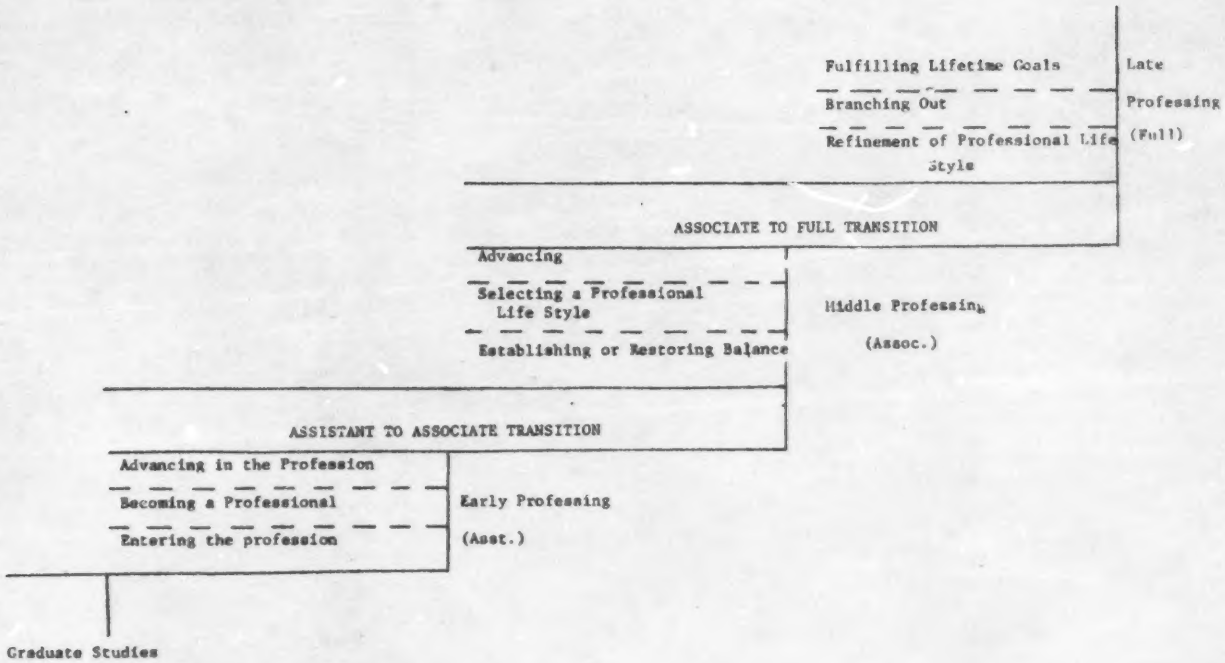

Figure 1. Stages of Academic Career.

FOOTNOTE

[1]Since only a few females were interviewed, we have not made any distinctions in this paper that may be attributed to sex differences. Thus the male pronouns are used throughout the paper to protect the confidentiality of the six female professors interviewed.

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